

THE TRUE
INTERESTS
OF THE 15
Princes of Europe

In the Present
State of Affairs:
OR
REFLECTIONS
UPON A

PAMPHLET written in *French*,
ENTITLED,
A Letter from Monsieur, to Mon-
sieur, concerning the Transactions of
the Time.

Licens'd and Enter'd according to Order.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Black Bull*
in the *Old Baily*, 1689.

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True Interests OF THE PRINCES OF EUROPE,

In the Present

State of Affairs.

YOU are desirous of my thoughts upon a printed Letter, brought us by the last Posts from *France*; and here you have an effect of my complaisance. First I must tell you, that we look upon it as a Writing issuing immediately from the *French Court*; and as a kind of *Manifesto* design'd to divert the Princes of *Europe* from their true Interests. It must be confess'd, that if *France* cannot free it self from the troublesome Circumstances it at present labours under, it cannot at least in any wise blame it self in that matter, seeing it has done all that is

humanely possible for relief. It sees all at once more Enemies upon its back, than that Crown has had for a hundred Years at several times. This is no meer simple League, it is a kind of Universal Conspiracy for its destruction. All is reunited, and both *Protestants* and *Catholicks* have at the long run understood their real Interests, and concur to the same Designs. The Revolution that has happen'd in *England*, throws *France* into new Agonies, and among so many neighbouring Nations, it finds not one Ally, they are all Enemies. It omits no manner of means to break this strong Party: it knocks at all doors; there is not a State, nor a Prince, nor a Republick, but of whom it demands either Alliances, or at least Neutralities. Producing nothing real by its secret Intelligences, and by its redoubled Offers and Instances; at least it is willing to feed the People, and particularly its own, with fumes and vain hopes; one while it scatters a Report, that before 3 Months are expired, the Emperour will be drawn off from the League, and that the Peace will be made with him; another while, that the *Hollanders* have already offer'd it the Neutrality. But the principal artifice is to cover *Europe* and fill foreign Courts with little Pamphlets, full of Reflections, tending to throw division in States and among Princes. One while it is a Letter to sow a distrust between the States of *Holland*, and the Prince their Governour. Then again bolts forth a Pamphlet to perswade the *Hollanders*, that they are in the high way to slavery, and that they themselves have forg'd their fetters. But above all, these little Productions seem full of zeal for the preservation of the *Catholic* Religion; Wherefore, cry the *French* in these Pamphlets, this is a Conspiracy of the *Protestants*, the *Catholicks* do not perceive it, they themselves elabour and labour to the destruction of their own Religion; the Pope himself spurs on to his own ruine, he is the occasion that the *Catholic* Religion has been blasted in *England* in the flower of its hopes, and that he is going to compleat the ruin of the Church, by his Partialities and irregular Conduct. For the more easie finding out of those Pamphlets, *France* informs us of them by its *Gazettier*: He tells us in the News from *Germany*, that there goes about a Book in that Country, which discovers, that the present League is made against the *Catholic* Religion. The Letter you require my Opinion upon, is of this Character and Number; its aim is to perswade all the Princes of *Europe*, that the War wherein they engage themselves is against their Interests: besides the false Colours which the Author spreads

reads over his sorry Reasons, for the better deceiving, he affects air and manners of sincerity. He blames the King of England; he does not except France out of the States that have not any Interest to prosecute the War; on the contrary, he reckons it among those that have all sort of interest to finish this War without pulling it on farther. Now, Sir, let us examine whether this Author has reason or not, and let us consider the true Interests of Princes in the present Affairs.

France does at this day stand in the first Rank among the States of Europe; it is its own concern now in hand, it is its self that speaks in this Pamphlet. Wherefore I think it fitting, that we begin with it and its Interests. *The truth is*, says this Author, *we may reason much differently of France, than of all the other Powers before mentioned.* That is to say, that whereas he has represented other States as labouring under the utmost weakness, without Head, without Council, without Force, and without Prudence, on the contrary, he extols France for the strength of its Government, for the Wisdom and Experience of its King, for the good Estate and Posture of its Troops and Places, for the Spirit of Execution and Secrecy that subsists in its Council and among its Ministers, and that of Emulation that reigns among its Officers and Soldiers. Notwithstanding all this, he does not expect it will derive any great advantage from this War; *It may gain some unprovided Place, and ruin Provinces, by its Incursions and Contributions; but it hazardeth a great deal*, saith he, *for a little purchase: for, in short, the Interruption of Commerce, the Alteration of the Finances or Revenues, the pressure upon the Subjects, and the fear of Civil Commotions by the new Converts, are inevitable Mischiefs.* It is already something, that France owns it has nothing to gain by this War, and that it runs an infinite hazard. But that I may help the Author in his Reflections, it is good to enlarge and consider more thoroughly what France thought fit only to mention transitorily and in one Period.

As concerning Civil Commotions by the new Converts, it has sufficient reason to look upon them as inevitable, it is a hard matter to hinder people that have been provok'd by such horrible Cruelties from retaining the remembrance of them, and from resenting them as soon as an occasion shall be offer'd. What avails the disarming them? they that shall bring them Succours, will also bring them Arms, and furnish them with them at their own homes; they are not far from the Arms that have been taken

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ken from them, they will find them at the houses of the *Cadets* their neighbours. The Citadel of *Nismes*, of *St. Hippolyte*, and of the other places of *Cevennes*, are Retreats and Forts which they will find all in a readiness; Armies will not always be there to defend them. But has *France* only to fear Civil Commotions from the new Converts? Is not all *France* malecontent? And has not that Court vex'd, ruin'd, and mortified all the Orders of the Kingdom? The Parliaments were formerly the Protectors of the Publick Liberty, now they are the Slaves of a Despotick Power, that has stopp'd their Mouth, and suffers them not to make the least Remonstrance. Blind Approvers of Resolutions and Councils, which they plainly see (if a man may so say in old *English* without a Bull) tend to the ruin of the State: their Offices are diminish'd, their Consideration in the Kingdom is annihilated, they are brought now to nothing. This was long since promis'd them by the King, to punish them for what they had done during his Minority; and in truth the promise has been roundly acquitted; the Noblesse is ruin'd, all its Privileges taken away; the Gentlemen pay Taxes, as well as the least of the Subjects; not they indeed, but their Lands, and their Farmers, they being no longer allow'd to improve but one Land by their hands. Thus Farmers are made to pay such excessive Taxes, that they swallow up the Revenue of what they have farm'd out; thus all goes that way, and the Gentleman has nothing. The last *Arriurban* plainly shew'd the circumstances of the *French* Noblesse; when assembled, it could make up but three or four thousand men of the most wretched Troops imaginable. There are not half the Gentlemen, perhaps not a third part, that have wherewithal to mount themselves with a Horse and a pair of Pistols for War; and can it be imagin'd, that these people are not malecontents?

As to the People, the Yoak they bear is the most heavy in the World; that of the *Ottoman* Emperours is not worse. They pay the King above a hundred and sixty Millions in Taxes, which go partly into the Coffers of the *Exchequer*, partly into the Coffers of the Ministers and Financiers or Collectors of the Revenue; that is to say, that they pay three times as much as ever was exacted by this King's Predecessors. Thus the misery is extreme; the haggard, pale, and black Visages of the Peasants proclaim this Misery; the *Dutrougs* and Villages are half ruin'd, and full of Rubbish and Dilapidations. There were Parishes where

wherein there were four or five hundred Fire-hearths capable of paying the Taxes, now there are not two hundred. Many a whole City that paid five and twenty or thirty thousand Livres in Taxes, is not now able to pay ten thousand. The poor Country-People have not their fill of Bread, and they eat that which is so bad and so dry, that they have hardly strength to go about their work: This slavery does daily more and more reduce the Country to a Desert, and depopulates the Kingdom. Can it be otherwise believ'd, but that a People in this condition does breathe after Freedom, and that it will make to the first Door that shall be open'd to it in order to it? Can we reckon for nothing the party of the Monks and their Devotists, that privately murmur at the Conduct that is held against the Pope? We may affirm, that if the Pope nick'd his time in the heat of the War, for the excommunicating the *French* King, and putting his Kingdom under an Interdict, he would bring upon his back above the half of his Subjects: For the *French* Court ought not to flatter it self; all Catholicks that have any veneration for the Holy See, are infinitely concern'd at the Outrages which are continually done to it. Shall we make little account among the Malecontents of that Party call'd the *Jansenists*, whose Communities have been desolated? the utmost Violences done to the Houses of the Maidens that were under their Direction, whose Priests have been banish'd, imprison'd, and punish'd in a thousand different manners? This is reputed the Party of Resin'd People, and of such as are of regard; and whenever they raise up their Heads, ten to one but that they give a staggering Blow. All this consider'd, we may believe *France* is in a disposition attending to a great Revolution; when Princes shall enter *France* under the Title, and with the Conduct of Deliverers, by observing a good Military Discipline, and setting up the Standard of Liberty, promising to the People ease in Taxes, to the Noblesse the restitution of their Priviledges, and to the Parliaments the re-establishment of the free Estates; it is to be hoped that all people will range themselves under such an Ensign. At present indeed we see no stirring of that kind: All the Orders, though Malecontent, are perfectly at the beck of the Court, and under all submission. This I believe and own: but you must know that the Heart begins to think what it had never thought of, when the Eye begins to see what it had never seen. For the present, people see between themselves and Liberty, so prodigious

ous a space, that they do not imagine that any thing can reverse it. The Grandeur of their King, and the absolute sway with which he commands and makes himself obeyed, leaves them no other power than that of groaning in their Bosoms. The bare shadow of that prodigious Colossus of Authority, which they have over their Heads, makes them shiver. But when they shall see Deliverers that shall reach out their hands to them, you may be assured that they will make it plain that the force of Liberty is not wholly extinguish'd. But here is the place of the Author of the Letter's Triumph: which is that, Who shall come to raise up the Standard of Liberty? Where will they begin to invade *France*? I fancy, says he, after a scornful manner, that the Confederated Princes are not so mad, nor so vain, as to look upon *France* as a Country of Conquest. But I know not why the Confederated Princes may not look upon *France* as a Country of Conquest, since *France* has look'd upon and treated its Neighbours upon that foot. *France*, that has conquer'd the *French Compté*, *Lorraine*, *Alsatia*, the *Palatinate*, the Country of the *Rhine*, *Strasbourg*, *Philipsbourg*, *Mayence*, *Luxembourg*, and above half the *Spanish Flanders*, may methinks lose all those Countries by the same means by which it acquired them; and after having lost these, still lose others. I should think it is not invincible; and I do not question but that its own History of the *English* Performances, will, among other instances, support my Opinion. And besides, it ought not to rely too much upon its fastnesses and its Bulworks. That is not the way to attack it; two lost Battles will afford entrance into the heart of the Kingdom, and the strong places on the frontiers will fall all of themselves. The Garrisons must be drawn out thence to make new Armies, which may still be beaten. There is no likelihood that the Confederates should trifle away time in encamping their Forces, and in taking two or three Frontier Towns in one Campaigne. This course, I confess, would be very tedious. Whereas two or three compleat Victories brings them into the heart of the Kingdom; then you will see high Gaming, and fair Play, and many other Malecontents stirring, besides the new Converts. The most *Christian* King is only great and has been successful, because he is dreadful. But when his Fortune shall abandon him, all the Vexations of that infinite number of Malecontents, will act in their full swinge and Liberty, and with all their Forces.

for Civil Comotions. They do also own in Asia
that it destroys the *Finances*. It has reason to
be sure, and infinitely more than it confides. Its Commerce fails
like utter ruin in *Provinces* bordering upon the Sea, as
Guyenne, Poitou, La Rochelle, Normandy, which being overstocked with
their own Commodities which they have this year in abundance,
are under the utmost misery. We know that there is no more Mo-
ney there to be found. The People there are already fear'd
with fear, and without any thing extraordinary happening
they are ruin'd by two years War, so as never to recover from
it. There is no hindering the Descent of the *English* and *Hol-
landers*: for what means is there to guard five hundred leagues
of Coast from *Nice* as far as into *Catalonia*, upon the *Mediterranean*,
and from *Fontenay* as far as *Dunkirk*, upon the *Ocean*? The
Armies that are sent into *Guyenne*, and the *Militia* that are kept
upon the Sea-shores will only serve to ruine the Provinces. But
in case no Descents should be made, there needs no more than
to hover about and sail along the Coasts with a powerful Fleet.
The Maritime Provinces will be ruin'd of themselves, while that
the Country-men is out of his Barn standing to his Arms to
observe an Enemy, who probably too will enter too some o-
ther way; he does not till his Ground, neglects his Vineyards;
his Children and his Wife are famish'd to death; he can no
longer pay Taxes; he ruins himself, the Estate, and those that
rely'd on him. Thus the Allies need only to maintain the War for
two years, they may be assured that *France* will bury itself in
its own Ruines.

As to the Revenue or Finances, they cannot be in a worse
posture than they are already. The truth is, that the most
Christian King has most immense sums; but certainly it must
bring the Finances into a bad condition, if they drain the *Provin-
ces* all at once. What Recourse has the *French* King left him-
self for the following years? He has borrow'd twenty Millions of
his Subjects, by the Creation of a Million of *Livres* of Rent.
He has created a prodigious number of new Officers. He has
created from great *Queens* vast sums under the Title of a *Grav-
ity*. He consumes his Nobles through a distasteful Expence by
the *Pen* and *Arrer-Pen*. He has augmented the Salt-taxes for
the Minor. He has burden'd all *Parishes* with the *Maigre-
nance* of a certain number of Men, of whom he means to com-
pose

* A measure
much about
our Bushel.

poor Mind. Can this in Conscience last? The Mines of *France* lock'd up; its Corn, its Mines, its Manufactures, are in their own Store-houses, and are upon the point of being spoil'd. This year all is exacted that can be exacted. Thus it must sink and fall short the following year. If the Confederates does not make this Reflection, their Sagacity must be of no great extent. The horrible Taxes which *France* pays to furnish to so many Expenses, may be paid for some time, if the most *Christian* King concludes to be happy; but it is indubitable, that as soon as he shall be unsuccessful, he will be no longer dreaded, nor will any body pay. Not a person will henceforward be impos'd upon by *France*; by representing the good estate of its Finances; for none will give any credit to such Discourses: Nor will any again stand amaz'd at what it shall say, of the good posture of its Troops. It's well known that it has a great many, but it's also known that it wants of a great many more than it has; three hundred thousand men would not be sufficient to guard its Coasts. There needs above two hundred thousand to guard its places. It has occasion for above fifteen Armies and flying Camps. And besides, it's well known, that whatever care the King has taken to get Souldiers by making the People wretched, they are nevertheless forced to keep Boys of fourteen and fifteen years old. Two Battles well won, would go a great way in clearing and thinning those so numerous Troops.

The *Grandeur, Wisdom, Prudence, and Experience of the King and his Ministers*, are the Author's last Refuge. But be it known, that a Prince is no longer great, when he is unhappy. Those that know the most *Christian* King's heart, are fully perswaded that his Greatness is none of those that subsist in the midst of the Ruins of Fortune. He has too much abus'd his good Fortune, and too ill supported it to support the bad. Not but that the most *Christian* King had great Qualities to reign, nay, and that he had happy Dispositions to Equity and Justice. But three things have oppos'd him; his Success, his Flatterers, and his Counsellors. His Success, that has intoxicated and perswaded him that Heaven and Earth were only made for him; that he might undertake all, and that he would speed in all, as he had already sped in all. His Flatterers, that have stretch'd Baskets and Slavery beyond all that has been done in that kind, and all that can be imagin'd; Brass, Copper, Stones, Marble, Pourtraiets, Medals, Devices, Poetry, Prose, Harangues, Sermons, Dedications.

Deductions, Inscriptions, Tryumphal Arches, Books, Hi-
 stories, the Theatres, Operas, Buildings, Statues, Paintings,
 Tapestries, the Ornaments of his Gardens; all, in a word, has
 been employ'd to immortalize the Baseness of the Nation,
 and the Weakness of the Prince. Never were Praises more ex-
 orbitant, never was the Patience of Man, by receiving bound-
 less Eulogies, put so far upon the stretch. And though we
 should muster up all the Flatteries which the *Romans* invented
 for their Tyrants, all those which the *Spaniards*, the most exag-
 gerative of all men, have made for their Heroes, nothing can be
 near what the *French* have contriv'd for their Prince. Where
 is the Soul that can screen it self from so fatal a Poyson shed in
 such great abundance? And the most *Christian* King, is he not
 more to be pitied, than to be blamed, for having fallen into
 such ill hands? It is this Incense pour'd forth unmeasurably, and
 without discretion, that has perswaded him that he was Al-
 mighty upon Earth; that he ought not to keep Measures with
 any body; that he was born to perform all that his Ancestors
 had barely attempted, and which they were not able to accom-
 plish, as is the design of Extirpating *Calvinism* out of his Domi-
 nions. In conclusion, his Counsellors have compleated his Ruine:
 violent People for breaking all on one part, and Adulators on the
 other, for the striking in with the Inclinations of a Prince that
 grasps at Glory, let it cost what it will. A Greatness that is only
 grounded upon such sentiments as is not steady, it is not proof-a-
 gainst a Reverse of Fortune. Thus I do not see that *France*
 ought to rely so much upon the Wisdom and Experience of
 those that govern. After all, if we narrowly scan the great
 successes of *France*, we shall find that they proceeded less from the
 force of its Government, than from the feebleness of its Neigh-
 bours. The Kings of *Spain* and *Sweden* were Children, the Em-
 peror was possess'd by People whose fundamental Maxime is to
 sacrifice all the Grandeurs in the World for their own Gran-
 deur. *England* was in the hands of a weak Prince, and desired
 no other than quiet. *Holland* was enervated by its Divisions; it
 was no difficult matter to beat People that did not stand up in
 their Defence. The case is now alter'd, and the Map is wholly
 chang'd. Thus Affairs must naturally follow quite another
 trace. For these reasons I conclude that the Author of the Let-
 ter has more reason than he thinks of owning that *France* hath all
 manner of Interest to make Peace. It ought to make it, though
 it cost it a great deal. It ought to restore to *Germany*, the *Rhine*,
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Allatia, and Lorrain; to Spain, the French Courts and Parliaments, to Italy, Casal; and to the Calvinists their Temples and their Edicts. But even this, which the Author has reason to own, that the Interest of *France* does require the making Peace, is a proof that he has not reason, when he goes about to prove that other States have the same Interest. For at this time the Interests of *Europe* are so diametrically contrary to those of *France*, that if the Interest of that Crown be to make Peace, certainly the Interest of all other States is to make War, and to continue it. This is what we are going to see. The Author who has lent his Pen to the Court of *France*, in the Pamphlet I examine, would fain make the World believe that the Princes of *Europe* are deeply concern'd to lay down their Arms. *It seems, says he, that their Heads must have turn'd, seeing they have thrown themselves, through Ignorance, or the ill Faith of their Ministers, in Engagements so contrary to their Repose, Religion, Justice, and in short, to their true Good: It is, in his fence, a deplorable Blindness, it is a general subversion of Prudence and Policy.* All this is a Declaration without sincerity. They that talk thus, well know that all they say is false; for I will maintain, that without being at least struck with an inconceivable Spirit of *Vertigo*, the Powers of *Europe* cannot neglect the opportunity that is offered them, of pulling down and humbling *France*. Before I discourse of the particular Interests of those Powers in this Affair, I will prove what I assert, by general Considerations.

None but knows, that in *Europe* there are two principal Houses that are at strife for Dominion, that of *Austria*, and that of *France*. All the World also knows, that the general Interest of other Princes is to hold those two Houses in equality, because that if the one swallows up the other, it is certain, that its power would augment in such manner, that all the other States of *Europe* could not resist it. The House of *Austria* formerly fram'd the Project of an Universal Monarchy. *France*, that was then alone capable of stemming those Designs, felt the effects of the *Spanish* ambition, which by the League threw such horrible Disorders into its Bowels. The House of *Austria* being become too powerful, all the rest of *Europe* sided with *France*. When *Ferdinand* had defeated and driven away the King of *Bohemia*, all *Germany* was upon the point of falling into slavery. Then *Sweden* and *France*, and all other States, put themselves on the other side of the Ballance, so to poise it. *France* is now in the posture

the House of *Austria* was formerly ; it is become the terrour of all its Neighbours. It threatens to put Fetters upon all *Europe* ; it aspires to Universal Dominion. This is no shallow imagination, nor false supposition. Nothing is more certain, and more sensible than this, that *France* has sooth'd it self with the expectation of possessing the Empire of *Germany*. Since the time of *Francis* the First, all the Elections of the Emperours have been cross'd by the Cabals of *France*, which not only has us'd its utmost endeavours to shoulder the Empire out of the House of *Austria*, but has try'd all means to get it into the Family of its Kings. It is most certain, that the most *Christian* King entertain'd such Designs, and renew'd them in the Year 1683. when the *Turks* came to besiege *Vienna*. It is affirm'd, that *France* had by *Teckelej* engag'd the *Pot* in that War, promising it, that at the same time the *Turks* should besiege *Vienna*, the *French* should enter *Germany*, by the *Rhine*. This it did not perform ; it continued a Spectatrice during that great Act ; and Flatterers do trumpet this to the great honour of that Court. The most immoderate Praises have been conferr'd upon the most *Christian* King, for the moderation he has us'd, and for the respect he has made appear for Religion. It was easie for him, say they, to have entered *Germany*, and to have shared it with the *Turk*. This is true : but now here is the Principle of that Moderation ; The *French* King was perswaded, that the Empire and all *Germany* would have fall'n to him by a more handsom means. *Vienna* once taken, and the Emperour thrown upon the ground, the *Germans* had no other course left, than to throw themselves into the arms of *France*. This it expected, and reckon'd upon it as a thing that could not fail it. It would not have fail'd of succouring the *Germans*, but it would have made them pay dear for its assistance, and it would not have rescued them from the Fetters of *Turkey*, save to have shackled them with its own. But suppose *France* should now no longer aspire to the Universal Monarchy, who but sees, that its Power is too formidable, that the Ballance is no longer equal between it and the other Powers of *Europe* ; and by consequence, that it is high time to reduce it to that equality ? What Rampart have the *Germans* left to preserve the Liberty of *Germany* ? Formerly the *Rhine* serv'd for a Barrier, to stop the fury and ambition of the *French*. Now *France* being Mistress of the *Rhine*, from *Bale*, as far as *Cologn*, has nothing left to stop it, and *Germany* is expos'd and given up a Prey to its Revenge and

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Caprices ; the Desolations that have been made in that Country, do too sadly verifie this assertion. Should *Germany* forbear providing against these Violences, till such time as that the *French* are at *Vienna*? When should it think of its Liberty, if it does not think of it at present? Is it not high time, that *Italy* should also entertain the same thoughts? Is it not in a loursing condition now, that *Cassal* has put the *French* Arms into its Bowels? Is it not high time for the *Hollanders*, to set about the preservation of their Liberty? For their Barrier they have a Ridge of Land, the half of which is already eaten up. The Dutchy of *Luxembourg* serv'd for Barrier from the *Rhine* as far as the *Meuse*. *France* has seized on it by Fraud and Violence. The *Low-Countries* have the Common Enemy at their gate, and yet some would have them to sleep on still ; in good sooth, the Court of *France* may with a *Boon Grace* say, that the Conduct of States, that would either cast off this terrible Yoak, or screen themselves from it, is a deplorable blindness and a general subversion of Policy and Prudence. If *France* could by tall words persuade the people of *Europe* to undergo its Yoak, well for it. But I know none that will fall into such-like Traps. Thus it is constant and certain, clear and evident, that the general Interest of all States is now to humble *France*, and reduce it to its ancient bounds. Nor is it less plain, that the present Circumstance is the most favourable and propitious that can be imagin'd, and that the letting slip this Occasion, would proclaim a forfeiture of all sense.

First, It is expedient to take the time when the Indignation of all Courts and of all Potentates is in its fervency against *France*, for the Violences and Breaches of Word, of which it has render'd it self guilty ; if time be suffer'd to cool the Passion, there will be no way to ferment it anew. This War is not a War meerly of Policy, Ambition and ordinary Interests. It is a War of Passion, wherein the Spirit of Revenge acts and will act ; I say, of Revenge, if there was ever any. For never were there more enormous Outrages, than those which *France* has done to its Neighbours. It went into *Italy* without any form, without Declaration of War, without reason in the midst of Peace, to burn *Genoua*, one of the most stately Cities in the World: and for no other reason, than that this City would not renounce the Interests of *Spain*, wherein it had been for so many years. The horrible Conflagrations committed in *Flanders*, in the years 1683, and 1684. still smोक and smother. The little Quirks and Caviling

Pretence, on which it has wrested Cities and Provinces from the Empire in the midst of Peace, under the pretext of Reunion and by the Formalities of ridiculous Justice, have made Wounds that are still quite open. The last Violation of the Truce, and the Irruption into *Germany*, without having for so doing any pretence, the least specious, is an Outrage just fresh, and which causes a boundless Resentment. But above all, the Desolation of the Countries on the *Rhine*, the Cities of *Manheim*, *Heidelberg*, the Burroughs and Villages from *Strasbourg* to *Mayence*, which they have turn'd into Ruins and heaps of Stones, have created so much Indignation in all *Europe*, that now on all sides nought is breath'd, but Vengeance. That Valley, from *Strasbourg*, as far as *Mayence*, is possibly the finest Countrey in the World, and the *French* have made a dismal solitude of it, having not left there one stone upon another. Thus it is not fit to let slip the Occasion of improving the Extreme Resentment these Violences have inspired into all Nations. The *French* may assure themselves, that their Enemies will fight them like enrag'd Lionesses, whose young ones have been worried and torn to pieces by the Dogs.

Secondly, Now is the time to attack *France*, because that Prudence directs the attacking of an Enemy when he begins to be a loser, when he is in a train of committing great faults, and when he is seized with terrour; though that the present is not ever a very certain presage for the future. Nevertheless, the Sages presume, that when Fortune has mounted a long while, and that it begins to descend, it will role down, even to the last declension. *France* is at this pass: it has mounted with great fierceness. It begins to decline: we may expect that its declension will not stop here; and by consequence, that now's the time of pushing it whither its Star is hurrying it. Now this declension appears visibly in its Faults, in its Losses, and in its Fears. As for its Faults, they are visible, and so gross, that they can only depart from a supernatural blindness. Were there no others than those it has committed with relation to *England*, to *Holland*, and the Prince of *Orange*. The whole World knows after what manner he has push'd that Prince. Its Conduct as to him, especially of late years, is a Series of Outrages, that has few Examples among the Great independant of one another: What a Blunder, what a Blindness, to provoke a Prince so nearly related to the Crown of *England*, who could not fail of coming to it? For in short,

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tho' what we now see should not have come to pass, *James the Second* was already upon the declension of *Life*, he was mortal, and might die as well as *Charles the Second*. Thus the most Christian King could not but know that this so much slighted Prince, and who was so cruelly offended, would suddenly be to *France*, by his Courage and Dominions, the most formidable Monarch in *Europe*. The other fault is, the not having hindred the Affair of *England*, as might easily have been done. Instead of going to besiege *Philipiburg*, the *French* ought to have seiz'd on *Cologn*. The thing was without the least difficulty; and by such a stroke, all would have been accomplish'd at a time: the Affair of *Fursemberg* would have been terminated: the Prince of *Orange's* Voyage into *England* prevented. For the *States of Holland* would neither have suffer'd him nor their Troops to have distanc'd themselves, having upon their Frontiers and on their Backs so formidable an Enemy. It's well known, that the greatest interest of *France* in the present state of Affairs, was to hinder *England* from being against it, and to keep the Prince of *Orange* very low, by hindering his accession to the Throne. It ought to have done its utmost to have prevented this Blow. The most sagacious fancy it had no intention to hinder the Prince of *Orange* from passing into *England*, thro' an opinion, that *James the Second* had as many Forces and Friends as were requisite to oppose the Prince, foster and keep on foot a Civil War, and thereby employ *England* by ruining it, which was all that *France* desired: But it has been ill served by its Spies, which it nevertheless pays very well: It was deceiv'd in the Temper of the *English* Spirits; and this has made it commit the greatest fault it ever did. The third fault is, The having declared War against the Emperour and the Pope by two Manifesto's, and by all imaginable Hostilities, at the very time it meditated the ruin of the *Hollanders*, of the Prince of *Orange*, and of their Protestant Allies. Certain it is, that if the Pope and the Emperour had been left at peace, they might have been trick'd and deluded by a false Pretext of Religion, and might have been easily engag'd in a Catholic League in favour of the King of *England*. But this stroke once given, it was past all remedy. Thus *France* depriv'd it self thereby of all the Succours it might have expected in the greatest concern it has had since the Birth of the Monarchy. These are the Mistakes that may reasonably allow us hopes, that its tutelary *Grim* has withdrawn it self. Its Misfortunes and Miscarriages tell as the

the same; for in the year 1688. of so many things it undertook, it succeeded in nothing, save in the Siege of *Philipsburg*; it fail'd of the *Electorate* of *Cologne*, the Bishoprick of *Liege*, and that of *Münster*; it lost its Fleets and Bombs before *Argiers*, *Geneva* escap'd its clutches, and it has seen the only Ally it had in *Europe* tumble from the Throne. In conclusion, its fears are a happy preface to the States of *Europe*. *France* knows its strong and weak sides better than any body; it sees to the very bottom of its Finances; it knows the dispositions of its Subjects; it perceives Malecontents every where; it understands both the force and weakness of its Officers and Armies. Seeing then it is afraid, it has reason for so being. Now never was fear more visible, nor more manifest in peoples eyes. The Court disarms all the new Converts, causes Cittadels to be built in the heart of its Kingdom. Proposes Bait to send deep into the North the refus'd *Calvinists*, whom it sees upon its Frontiers, eager to return to their old homes with their Swords in their hands. It arms the whole Realm. It forms Companies of Militia in all the Burroughs, and all the Villages. It summons its Noblesse to the *Ban* and *Arriereban*. It lifts Children, for want of better Men. It fills its Prisons with such as lie obvious to its suspicions. It drains the very Fountain-head of its Finances and Money. It causes all Courts to be solicited for Peace and Neutrality; there is not so much as to the new King of *England*, its mortal Enemy, but whom it has dexterously caus'd to be sound-ed; at least so runs rumour. It scatters false Reports of Peace, or of Truce, to encourage its People. In a word, never was Terror more glaring and apparent: When one is afraid, one is half beaten. It would be a deplorable Blindness in the confederated Princes, if they neglected so favourable a Circumstance.

Besides the general Considerations, that manifest to all the Princes of *Europe*, the Necessity of attacking *France* in the present Juncture, I will assign one that ought particularly to affect *Catholic* Princes. Which is, that the present posture of *England* ought to be a powerful Motive for them, to avail themselves of the Occasion to have their Revenge on *France*. Certain it is, that *England* is the cause of the slavery of *Europe*; for it might, if it had so pleas'd, have hindred the progress of the most *Christian* King. Now that *England* has chang'd its Master, we may expect quite another thing. If the Prince of *Orange* was not as yet Master of it, and that King *James the Second* was still there, I should pause upon the advice I were to give to *Catholic* Princes. Certain it is, that

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their political Interest would oblige them to raise on high the Prince of Orange, and push down the late King of England. For he is a Common Enemy of all Europe, that sacrifices other States to France for his private Interest; and besides, the *Catholic* Religion loses very little in losing him: for it was a very petty advantage for it, to have in England a King with the capacity of a size of one that lately reign'd. Experience has made appear, that the *Catholic* Religion has lost little thereby; for his conduct was the ready way to ruin it. Nevertheless, if we had still a *Catholic* King in England, since that all is owing to Religion, and something to the Opinion of the People, I own that the *Catholic* Princes would be in some perplexity, in respect of Union with the *English*. But now that the mischief is done, if in case it be a mischief, this being a remediless mischief, what can there be in the matter to hesitate upon? Let them take what course they please, all *Catholic* Leagues will never restore the late King of England. Thus prudence directs, that *Catholic* States should avail themselves, and take advantage of a circumstance that in its self seems dolorous for the *Catholic* Religion, but which in the upshot will possibly do it more good than harm.

On another side, *Protestant* Princes ought to call to mind, that it would be in them the utmost folly to suffer themselves to be gain'd by France in the present Juncture, and to separate themselves from the League, because they will never find such a complication of favourable Conjunctions as those at present; the difference of Religion does ever make an Abyss of Separation between the *Protestant* Princes and the *Catholic* Princes, especially those of the House of *Austria*; which renders Alliances difficult. Now that the Conduct of France has fill'd up this great Abyss, and that it has forc'd the Pope and the Princes of the House of *Austria* to unite themselves with the *Protestants*, these ought not to neglect an occasion, that will not be found so favourable in ten Ages, for the mortifying that haughty Power that highly makes profession of aiming at their Religion, but which aims much more at their Dominions. These are our general Considerations, which shew that in general, all the States of Europe are concern'd not to depart from the League against France. Let's proceed to the several Powers in particular, and begin with the *Manifesto*, in what relates to the Pope, own'd by all as the Head of *Christendom*.

The Author of the *Letter* clamours strangely at this Common Father of *Christians*. 'Tis an odd Composure, and a Libel which in this part flies more particularly in the Author's Face. Gall and Wormwood are liberally bestowed; but, God knows, it is but scantily stockt with Sense and Judgment. He makes a mighty potter and talk, that his Holinesses Conduct is entirely opposite to his Duties. And to prove it, produces what the Pope has done to *Spain*, the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, the Republick of *Venice*, all the Princes of *Italy*, and the Princes of the Empire. The *French* Court is very generous in thus espousing the interests of its Enemies, and in pitying people that do not crave for commiseration. But suppose all this were as solid as it is vain, does it in any wise forward its Intentions? Grant the Pope on all occasions, and in regard of all Princes, has acted contrary to his duty, what makes that to the matter in hand? the business in agitation, is to know whether the Pope in the present Conjunction acts contrary to his own interests; it does not often happen out that interest and duty cotton in humane policy. *France* is a good witness of this; all its Rapes, which it calls Conquests, are according to its interests. For a State is ever concern'd to aggrandize it self. But such like courses are very contrary to its Duties. For it is no part of the Duty of an honest *Christian* to seize on another's Estate, upon sorry pretences. Wherefore it may so happen, that the Pope in this occasion should act contrary to his Devoirs and Duties, and nevertheless most conformably to his Interests. But the case stands not so in this matter; The holy Father has exactly followed his Duties in following his Interests. I mean not here to enter into an Apology for him, wherein must necessarily be repeated a thousand things known by all the World; I shall only say, that never was Pope ill treated by any *Catholic* State as this has been by *France*; because he has had the hardiness to oppose himself against the extension of the *Regalia* over all the Bishopricks of *France*; the most *Christian* King has declared a cruel War against him. He may be said to have degraded him in *France* of his noblest Priviledges, which are his Superiority over the Church, and over Kings. He form'd a seditious Assembly in 1682. against his Authority. He caus'd his Briefs and Bulls to be annull'd and abrogated by Arrests or Decrees of *Parliament*. He would by main force have possess'd himself of part of the Sovereignty in the City of *Rome*, under the Name of the *Franchises* of the Quarters of his Embassadors. He

sent not an Embassadour, but a Captain, who entred *Rome* with an Army; seiz'd on a part of the City, and by Arms and Violence withdrew it from its true Sovereign. He would have made pass for a Right, a Possession of Franchizes, which is only since these 20 years, and to justify his pretences, insists on the Treaty of *Pisa*, wherein there is not one bare word mentioned of those Franchizes. He has caus'd to revolt against the Pope the Bishops, the Academies, the Religious Houses, even those of the Maidens; by forcing them to sign Acts of Appeal, to the future Council, against all the holy Father's conduct. He has slighted his Orders, his Briefs, his Bulls, his Embassadeurs; violated, contrary to all right, the Franchizes of the Religious Houses, Men and Women that have implored the succours and protection of this common Father. And after this, shall we think it strange, that the Pope in his conduct has exerted vigour and resentment; such a judgment would be unjust: for he has done nothing in all he has done, that is contrary to his Devoirs.

It is also clearer than the day, that he has done nothing but most conformably to his interests. *It is a common Opinion among Catholicks, says the Author, that the most indispensable Duty, and the most conformable to the Character of a good Pope, has ever been understood to consist in maintaining Peace in Christendom.* I own, that it is not only the Duty of the Pope, but his real Interest: He ought to preserve the peace, but he ought not to preserve it for one to the prejudice of others. A Father ought to foster peace in his Family; but if an eldest Brother will seize and swallow up all the Estate of his younger Brothers, the Father ought no longer to tell the younger Brethren, *Live in peace with your eldest Brother; yield up to him all he demands.* He ought, on the contrary, to make use of his Authority, to put a stop to the Injustice; and when he cannot do it, he ought to let Justice and the War of the Bar take its course. *France is very pleasant, while that it devours its Neighbours, that it pares the Dominions of the Catholick King, that it abysles the Catholick Princes of Germany, it bids the Pope, in quality of common Father, bind the hands of all Princes, put 'em under the necessity of being quiet, that so I may devour them the more easily: Can there be imagin'd a more clumsy trepan?*

But it is acting in a Pope contrary to his own Interests, as well as contrary to his Duties, to favour a *Protestant League*, that can only tend to the ruine both of the Pope himself and of the whole Church.

Church. This is the great Machine that is every where set a playing, and to which the *Manifesto*, and all the other Pamphlets of *France*, have recourse every moment. Wherefore it is expedient, that we at one good stroke fell down this *Gchimera*. It is the old artifice of *France*, to cover its ambitious Designs, with the veil of Religion. In the year 1672. when it meant to revenge it self on the *Hollanders*, that had forc'd it to make the Peace of *Breda*, it sent Ministers to *Rome*, *Vienna*, *Madrid*, and into all *Catholic* Courts, to perswade them, that it undertook that Conquest to extend the Bounds and Frontiers of the Church, and to destroy Schism and Heresie. Notwithstanding all this, none were losers but *Spain*, which had *Flanders* taken away from it, and there lay the design. The Court of *Vienna*, during some time, was lur'd by this sham. But at the same time, *France* had other Ministers in *Protestant* Courts, who protested, swear, and affirm'd, that there was no design against Religion, that the King their Master had only an intention to humble the arrogance of the *Hollanders*, who would render themselves the Arbiters of the Destiny of *Europe*. When the most *Christian* King went about to pull down and destroy the *Calvinists* in his own Realm, he put on a large outside of Piety and Religion, so to impose upon the Princes of *Europe*. And he imagin'd, that all *Catholic* Princes, and particularly the Court of *Rome*, were going to adore him, and in order to recompence his zeal for Religion, would let him do all he had a mind to, and so he might peaceably accommodate himself with the Rights and States of others. He is in a terrible twegue and anger, that the Pope and the Emperor would not fall into this trap. But the Pope and the Emperor were in the right. It is not zeal for the Church, that has engag'd the *French* King in the persecution against the *Calvinists* of his Realm, it is a mighty self-love, and the design of distinguishing himself in the World, and in History, by a great Undertaking, which his predecessors for these two hundred years have not been able to accomplish. It is thro' this arrogance and haughty humour, by which this Prince thinks that all should as well yield and stoop to his Wills as to that of God. It is my Will, that there be but one Religion in my Kingdom; this I'll have done, tho' it ruine me. It is very evident, by the most *Christian* King's Conduct against the Church it self, that our Conjectures are not false. He has persecuted *Catholics* as well as *Heretics*, not only in the person of the Pope, but in an incredible multitude of the most holy Priests of the *Gallican* Church, whom he

he has put to death in Dungeons, whom he has banished, reduced to Poverty, and who are still at this day in the Abysses and Prisons, where he has plunged them. The Arms of the Church never speed against *Heretics*, when they are employed at the same time against it self. The wise Holy Father understood all this: Wherefore he could not much rejoyce in an Action that cannot have success, having not been undertaken out of any true Zeal.

After all, what do the Pope and *Catholic* Princes at this day, that is prejudicial to the Church. If we would believe the Pamphlets that come from *France*, there is no other than the most *Christian* King that is a *Catholic*; all others are, as it were, *Mahometans*. Wherefore then, this so *Catholic* Prince, has he only pillag'd and prey'd upon the *Catholics*? Why is the City of *Strasbourg* the only place that he has taken from the *Protestant* Party? Why has he taken *Treves*, *Mayence*, and the Archbishoprick of *Cologne*, from the Church? Why has he snapt from the Pope *Avignon*, and the County; the Pope, I say, who is Head of the Church? Why has he taken the *Franche Compté*, and *Flanders*, from the King of *Spain*, who is most *Catholic*? Why has he wrested from the Emperour, who is *Catholic*, *Philisbourg* and *Friburg*? Why has he, but some days since, rene'd to Dust and Ashes all the *Palatinate*, the proper Inheritance of the House of *Newbourg*, the most *Catholic* House that is in *Germany*? Thus he shews himself a most zealous *Catholic*, by seizing on the Estates of the most *Catholic* Houses that are in *Europe*. Why has he ever kept a Correspondence with *Turkey*, who is a *Lutheran*? Why has he made use of him for the bringing the *Turks* into *Germany*, to the Ruine of *Christendom*. The truth is, the Court of *France* fancies that all the rest of Mankind has neither Ears, nor Eyes, nor Tongues, that they see nothing, nor say any thing, that they do not perceive its dull Artifices, and that they dare not mention them.

This is a War of Religion, so they assert; but they assert it without ground. The Prince of *Orange*, they further assert, has made use of the Pretence of Religion, to seize on *England*: and what does this concern all the rest of *Europe*? What imports it us, to know the Prince of *Orange's* true Motive? It is sufficient that the success of his Designs does little prejudice to the Church, as effectually it does do it none. If *England* had been reduc'd to the Obedience of the Holy See, and had become

Catholic, I own that it would have been a very great mischief to have had it snatched from us? But what had the Church therein? A *Catholic* King, without Prudence, and who had given himself up to a Society whose Soul is a false outrageous Zeal, and that keeps not any measures. There were *Catholics* in *England*; there they are still; and certainly if the new King deals with them as he has promis'd, their condition will be more happy than under King *James* the Second, whose Enterprizes put the *Catholics* in continual danger of being massacr'd by popular Emotions. The Prince of *Orange* was brought up in a Country whose foundation was Toleration of Religions. He has suck'd in those Maxims; he has found them turn to account: Is there any likelihood of his laying them aside, or of his renouncing them?

Besides, none can with Justice tax the *Catholic* Princes with having contributed to ruine King *James* the Second. But why should they not avail themselves of a Fall which it was not possible to remedy? They have not any Interest to restore him; for they would restore the right Arm of *France*, which opposes the Liberty of *Europe*. Henceforward what *Catholic* Princes may do in favour of the League, and against *France*, cannot do any prejudice to the Church. They have at their head the Pope, the Head of the Church, whose Inspirations they will always follow: they will stop the *Protestants* in all they may undertake against the Interests of the Church; whereas if they were suffer'd to act alone, they might possibly push their Resentments too far. *France* talks, as if pulling down *France*, was pulling down the Church. None apprehend the case in that sense; on the contrary, they think they do great service to the Church, by pulling down the Pride of *France*.

The Pope is now so far from doing any thing against his own Interests, by keeping the League on foot, that he cannot do better for the maintaining the Grandeur of his See. By whom is the Holy See attacked? Is it not by *France*? Who is it that disputes with it its Authority? Where are those Assemblies held, or whence are written those scandalous Letters against the Holy Father? Whence do we find the Appeals and Protestations against the Pope? *France* is at this day more than half revolted from its Obedience to the Holy See. Its Writers speak against the Privileges of the Holy Father, with very near as much insolence as *Luther* and *Calvin* have done. The French Court

Writers

Writers leave him now no more than the Quality of the first Bishops, with certain Priviledges acquired either by the Favour of Popes, or by their Violences, or by the Concessions of Councils, and which the Councils by consequence may take away from him. There is no way to cause these Scandals to cease, but by pulling down that Arrogance that dares undertake all, and to which nothing is sacred. But, cry they, the Pope will put matters so upon the stretch, that *France* will at the long run leave him in the lurch. This Language is very well understood in the Pleas of the Advocate and Attorney-General of the Parliament of *Paris*. But the Holy Father does not fear this, nor has he any reason to fear it; he well knows that the *Gallican* Church groans under the weight of a great Authority, and that it will retrieve it self from what it is made to do, upon the first occasion that shall be offered. The Court of *Rome* knows this, otherwise than by Conjecture; and the most *Christian* King will possibly experience this but too soon. There is still in *France* an Infinity of people, and even Communities that are very faithful and very steady to the Holy See. It is not so easie a matter to shift a Kingdom from one Religion to another. There would be a terrible Clutter, should the most *Christian* King undertake to make a Schism. All this does clearly make appear, that the Pope's Conduct against *France*, neither goes against his Interests, nor against his Duties.

But what will people say of the Pope's Conduct, with respect to the King of *England*? This is an Article upon which the Manifesto makes a mighty bustle. He had not any regard for the King of *Great Britain*, who gave him hopes of reducing three Kingdoms to the Holy See: He had not any Complaisance for him, nor any Civility for his Embassadour. He has cavill'd him upon the Ceremonial: He has made him earn and purchase, by a thousand Sollicitations, a Cap for the House of *Este*: He has refus'd him the Episcopacy for Father *Peters*: He has not shewn any Concern for the Distresses of that unfortunate Prince: He refuses to Re-unite *Christian* and *Catholic* Princes, for the Restoring him; and has only offorded him vain Tears, nay, and vexation; for having been deceiv'd by the Prince of *Orange*, rather than compassion made them fall from him. I have already answer'd all this. The Holy Father plainly perceiv'd the *Catholic* Church had gain'd very little, by acquiring a Prince on one part of a very mean Capacity, and besides

abandoned to the *Jesuits*, whose Conduct ruins the Church where ever they have the sway. He well knew, that a *Catholick* King all alone in *England*, a stiff *Protestant* Realm, was a meer nothing; that in losing the King of *England*, onely a few hopes were lost; that upon his death things would return to their first estate; and that the *English* *Catholicks* would fare the worse for the little enjoyments they have had. Not but that he did all that in him lay to hinder the King of *England* from falling. Suppose him deceiv'd and surpriz'd: yet the thing once done, he did not think it expedient to break the measures which the *Catholick* Princes had taken to bring the *French* King to reason. When this is once accomplish'd, possibly they may have a fairer prospect of doing good to the King of *England*. The truth is, he is a *Catholick* King. But he is a King who has ever been their Common Enemy with *France*, who is also *Catholick*. After all, if *France* is so vex'd, that neither the *Pope*, nor the House of *Austria*, will contribute to restore the King of *England*, it must e'en blame it self. Why did it at the very time that the Prince of *Orange* attack'd King *James* the Second, break with the *Pope* and the *Emperour*? This is the true reason that now hinders the reunion of the *Catholick* Princes in favour of the King of *England*.

After the *Pope*, the *Manifesto* proceeds to the *Emperour*, and would pretend to demonstrate, that he knows not what he does, when he is obstinately bent upon the War; And thinks to prove it by I know not how many reasons, the best part of which are frivolous and nothing worth. First, the *Emperour* is much in the wrong: he rewards the most *Christian* King with a black Ingratitude. For the King has suffer'd him peaceably to make the Conquest of *Hungary*. He granted the Truce in 1684. He did not traverse it while that the *Turks* besieged *Vienna*. Had it not been for the *French* King, the *Emperour* had never made any Conquest over them. But no sooner had he taken New *Hewisel*, but that he forgets the service the *French* King had newly done him. Instead of manifesting at least a feigned acknowledgment, he forms secret Leagues against *France*, he cabals in all Courts. This is the first Crime. The second is, that the *Emperour* has declared against the Cardinal of *Furstemberg*, who ought to be elected Arch bishop of *Cologne*, as being already its Coadjutor: he obtains from the *Pope* a Brief of Eligibility, in favour of the Elector of *Bavaria's* younger Brother who at sixteen years old was already invested with two Bishop-

ricks: and this contrary to all the Rules and Canons of the Church. The Emperour's third fault is, that his Blindness, occasion'd by his Passion, does not permit him to open his eyes upon that potent League which he sees forming in the Empire, among Protestant Princes, the King of Sweden, the Prince of Orange, and the Republick of Holland, which he gives a helping hand unto for the destruction of the Roman Religion in England. Thus he not only abandons a Catholic and deposed King, not only favours an Usurper in his unjust Invasion; but what is much more strange, he throws his Son into an evident peril of seeing the Empire suddenly snatcht out of his hands by the Protestant Princes, who will invest with it a Prince of their own Communion. This is the Abridgment of the pompous Reasons, with which they endeavour to perswade the Emperour, that he is in the highest concern'd to renounce the League, and put himself into the Arms of France, for the restoring the King of England, and pulling down the Protestant Princes of the Empire. I know not whether the Court of France pretends to have found out the way to the heart of man, and the art of perswading: If so, we must own, that we are strangers in that province. For we are wholly ignorant, that to joyn a great many forgeries to a great deal of *Billinggate* language, was a very near way to bring people to our Bow, and whither we had a mind to lead them. They speak here of the Emperour, as one would do of a Fool, of an ungrateful person, of an extravagant, of a man that sacrifices the intrests of Religion to his passion, that has not any regards either to Justice, or to his most indispensable Devoirs. Let's now come to the Emperour, says this Author, whose conduct, tho partly of a better ground, has not been more regular, nor more exempt from passion than that of the Pope. That is to say, that the Pope sins in this Affair out of pure malice, but the Emperour is a poor man, that does what he is bid, and goes where he is lead. This galls, and is vexatious to France. For the truth is, if the Emperour would have suffer'd himself to have been manag'd by the most Christian King's Ministers, the Affairs of France would go now much better. Certainly the Obligations the Emperour and Empire have to the French King, are very considerable: He has discharg'd them of the care of governing several Provinces: and he has done all that in him lay, that they should have the Obligation wholly to him, that for the future they should have the advantage of living quietly, like petty private philosophical persons. But unluckily they are under errors, from which it will not be easie to free them. They fancy,

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that if the *French King* has left the *Emperor* at peace during the *Hungarian War*, it was because a fondness whirl'd his head with the execution of what he call'd his great Work, which is the destruction of the *Calvinists* in his own Dominions, and in those of the *Duke of Savoy*. They also fancy, that the *Emperour* did not act against his Interests, by hindering the Elevation to the Electorship of *Cologne*, of a man that was his declared enemy, and that of the Empire; a man that formerly had introduc'd the *French* into the Empire, and that had like to have ruin'd it; a man that had sold his Conscience and his Honour to the Court of *France*; a man that may be really call'd the Disturber of the Publick Repose, and the Common Enemy of *Europe*; a man, in conclusion, whom the *Emperour* had formerly been oblig'd to put into prison. When a man has acted like this Cardinal, and has once receiv'd of those kind of punishments, tho' just, he seldom forgets them, and prudence will never direct the trusting him. The *Emperour* has obtain'd a Brief of Eligibility for a Youth of sixteen years old, and the *Pope* granted this Brief. Now we ought to know, whether the *Pope* could do this? 'Tis the use and practice that must determine this Question. *France* never complain'd of the Prince of *Bavaria's* being chosen Bishop of *Ratisbon*, tho' younger than when now chosen Arch-bishop of *Cologne*: If the *Pope* could do the former, why not the second? Why now should it be lookt upon as strange, that the *Pope* makes use of his right of dispensing with the Canons, to deprive *France* of a means of ruining the Empire, and disturbing all *Europe*? As to the last Accusation, of favouring the pretended *Protestant League*, of abandoning a *Catholic* and dispossessed Prince, of ruining the *Catholic* Religion in *England*, we have already answer'd those charges: We have made appear, that the matter now in hand does not affect Religion; that the *Catholic* Religion loses little by losing such a support as that King, and that never any other than the *French King* was a gainer by him. Besides, so gross is the Lure which they offer to the *Emperour*, in telling him, that he ought to pull down the *Protestant* Princes of *Germany*, that so they may not dispute the *Imperial Crown* to his Son, for the giving it to one of their own Princes. I know not who more visibly menaces the *Imperial Crown*, which is in the House of *Austria*, whether the *Protestant* Princes of *Germany*, or *France*, which would fain put it upon her own head. In the first place, *France* must be depriv'd of the very hopes it has of seizing

etizing on the Empire; for care ought to be taken of what is most urgent. If after that the *Protestant* Princes attempt any thing contrary to the Interests of the Emperour and his Son, means will be found out to repress them: at least *France* on such an occasion will not deny its assistance. For it is too *Catholic* to leave the Empire to *Protestants*.

We now come to the Elector of *Bavaria*. This *Manifesto*, to gain him over, soothes him up: because that he is young, and young Princes suffer themselves to be wheedled and caught by praises. This *Manifesto* extols him for the Talent he has for War; flatters him with the glory of being the Arbitrer of Peace; soothes up his ambition, telling him, that if the Empire goes out of the House of *Austria*, he is the only Prince whom this may regard, and that upon this account, what he has most to fear, is the aggrandizement of the *Protestants*, who might dispute him the Empire. The Court of *France* throws the Imperial Crown at the Heads of all Princes, therewith to stun them; a moment ago she left it to the House of *Austria*; at present she gives it to the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Elector of *Bavaria* is certainly very much oblig'd to the *French* Court for taking so much care of his Interests; probably he stands indebted for this to the Dauphiness his Sister. But Affairs and Sentiments are much chang'd since the mighty pother *France* made some years ago, upon the bare report that was spread about, that the King of *Spain* meant to give to the Duke of *Bavaria*, what he had left in the *Low-Countries*. Then she would by no means that he should be Master of *Amberg*; now she would make him Emperour. Let who will suffer themselves to be deluded; I fancy, that in this Concern the Elector of *Bavaria* neither hopes nor fears any thing. He does not expect to see the Empire depart out of the House of *Austria*, to enter into his own. For the Emperour has Sons already, and the Empress is in a condition and age to have more. Nor does he in any wise fear the oppositions of the *Protestants*. For since they have lost the Electorship of the *Palatinate*, they have no more than two Voices in the Electoral Colledge. A man must be possest with a *Chimerical* & *Hypochondriacal* Spirit, to fear, that Two should prevail against Six. Thus do people bugbear Children, with Past-board Phantomes. And in truth they treat the Elector of *Bavaria* sufficiently like a Child and little Boy, to whom they give Sugar-plums, and little Knick-knacks, to bring him to what is call'd his Duty. The true interest of the Elector of *Bavaria*, is to maintain the

the peace of the Empire, to hinder it from being dismembred by the Violences of *France*, and that it be not totally swallow'd up by its immoderate ambition. At the present, what *Barrier* has that *Elector* to put him under cover from the Violences of the *French*? They are Masters of the *Rhine*. They have cross'd *Suabia*; they are upon him. And if he means not to be suddenly their Slave, he must now be their Enemy.

The Author of the *Letter* treats *Spain* with sufficient contempt: *Its Government is come*, says he, *to an excess of Weakness and Impotency*. These are the Cajolleries with which *France* thinks to win people. But if she does not afford *Spain* any fine words, she shews it the great Interests it has not to enter into this War, as she fears it will do. By entering into the League, it will shew it's feeble; it will draw the brunt of the War into its Territories; it will contribute to the aggradizement of the *Protestant Religion*, and to the establishment of the Prince of *Orange*, who is the most ancient Enemy of its Religion and its Crown; it will expose it self to new Infidelities of the *Hollanders*; and, in fine, will lose its Territories and Commerce of the *Indies*. For the *English* and the *Hollanders*, being united together, will be Masters of the *Marine Trade*, and with all imaginable ease will perform the Conquest of what *Spain* has in the *East-Indies*. *Spain* is very dauntless, if it does not tremble at the prospect of so many pressing dangers. It would do much better, to suffer it self to be totally worried by *France*, to abandon to it the *Low-Countries*, to suffer it to fortifie it self in *Italy*, and patiently wait till it revive its ancient pretensions upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, when it shall have seiz'd the State of *Milan*, and shall not be otherwise employed. If any State has an interest in this War, it is *Spain*. Wherefore it is incomprehensible why it should boggle in the least to declare it self. It lost most in the former Wars, and now it has the most to win. Who is it that took from it the *Franche Comté*, *Artois*, *Haynault*, *L'Isle*, *St. Omer*, *Cambray*, *Tournay*, *Ypre*, and the greatest part of *Flanders*? Why did the most *Christian King* render himself Master of *Gazet*? And is not the *Milanese* perpetually checkmated? If *Spain* is under so great a feebleness, as the Author represents, who is it that has reduc'd it to that condition? And by what means can it recover all it has lost? Will it be by a generous restitution which *France* shall make to it? If it cannot restore it self, save by War, what War can it expect, that has so much probability of being propitious to it as the present? If

means.

means be found to throw the War upon the *French King's* Dominions, as doubtless there will, it will be no longer upon those of the King of *Spain*. The urging the old Enmities of *Spain*, and of the Princes of *Orange*, must needs be allow'd a most irresistible way of arguing, tho' Interests are chang'd from White to Black since that time. *Spain* must be very easie to be deluded, if it suffers it self to be seduc'd by the fear of losing the *West-Indies*, upon the Vision of a *Dominican*, who formerly propos'd that Conquest to *Cromwel*. The *Hollanders* are not a people for Conquest, and the *English* will find their account much better in the *East-Indies*, than they would find it in those of the *West*.

After having so far heard the *Manifesto*, one would believe, that the *Catholick* Princes alone have an interest to make peace, and that at least the *Protestants* may and ought to continue the War. For the Author had made out, that there was nothing to be got by it save for them and their Religion. But not at all : the Scene and the Theatre again shift from white to black, because that the Design of the piece so requires it. It may be demonstrated, says the Author, that the *Protestant* Princes run to a manifest ruine, as well as the *Catholicks*. This is the course men of address and shrewdness take ; they know how to turn the Medal, and shew the Reverse, when the interest of the Cause demands it.

Sweden and *Denmark* cannot maintain the War, save with the Money of the Castle of *St. Angelo* : *Sweden* risques the loosing once again what it has in *Germany*. *Denmark* can get nothing by it, but may lose all. The truth is, this is not to be understood. How can the *Northern* Crowns run any hazard by a War that shall be made so far off of them ? If they lose in this War, they can at most but lose the Auxiliary Troops they shall have furnish'd, the War will not be wag'd in their Territories. Their Troops will live either upon *Germany*, or upon *France*. If any thing be got, they will share in the Conquests. The King of *Sweden* will have his Dutchy of *Deux-ponts* restored to him ; he may have the Demesnes augmented he has in *Germany*. How can he be driven once again out of *Germany*, seeing he is now in union with the *Germans* ? I would fain know, what he would gain by *France*, in continuing in peace with it.

The Princes of *Germany* are ply'd with the same Reasons ; they will consume themselves in Charges ; they will eat up their Country, and yet nothing will thence redound to them. Certainly it would be much better they would suffer themselves to be treated each in their turns, as *Strasbourg*, *Philipsbourg*, *Mayence*,
and

and especially the *Palatinate* have been treated ! If they gain nothing else in this undertaking, they will at least gain freedom and tranquillity, by driving over the *Rhine* the Common Enemy of the Empire. If they once get into *France*, their Forces will no longer live upon their own Territories, and if there ever was an occasion to look upon *France* as a Countrey of conquest, it is at present, that it is going to be attack'd on all sides. In this place the Author would fain intimidate the Confederated Princes by a Prophecy. He tells them, *that the Harmony of that Political Body, compos'd of such different parts and interests, cannot subsist long.* And yet we have seen Leagues last a considerable time, and much too long for the good liking of *France*. That which the *Hollanders* made after the Year 1672. lasted till 1678. and oblig'd *France* to demand Peace of *Europe*. Thus it lasted five or six Years. There is no occasion for so long an one, provided the Confederated Princes remain united two Years, and that *England* can act, *France* will come upon its knees to beg Peace, and restore all it has taken for these fifty Years. For it cannot maintain the Expence of two Campaigns, such as this will be.

Holland, in its turn, is brought into play ; For it is the fatal Spring that has given Motion to a part of those strange Revolutions we now see. Six Months ago it was to have been over-run with Armies, made a conquer'd Countrey, or rather a waste Desert, and not one Stone left upon another. For want of other Forces, it is here attack'd with many powerful Reasons, *Its Tutelar Gods are Peace and Commerce.* It never got by any War with its Neighbours. It thought to have rid it self handsomly of an ambitious and proud Subject, that govern'd it almost in an absolute manner ; but in the bottom, it will find it self mistaken. For the Prince of *Orange*, whom it contriv'd to send into *England*, so to get rid of him, will only serve to fortifie its Rival in Commerce and in the Empire of the Sea. The Prince of *Orange*, being become King of *England*, cannot be to them other than a very ill Warrant of the continuance of their good Understanding, because that an Usurper and an impious Person easily resolves upon becoming unfaithful. Who would have expected from *France* healing Councils and kindness for *Holland*. It is here that we may well apply the Maxim, That the Presents of Enemies ought to be suspected. The truth is, Commerce and Peace are the tutelar Gods of that State. Wherefore they are willing to put them in a place of security, and without the reach and attacks of *France*. Such a Peace as that which has

has lasted since 1678. is more fatal to the Commerce, and Goods and Estates of Individuals, than is a galling, but a short War. When *France* cannot trouble the Commerce of the *Hollanders*, on account of the Peace, it lets the *Algerines* upon them to plunder them and take their Ships; it gives a Retreat to the Pyrates in its Ports; it buys their Plunder; prohibits the Merchandizes of the State, and loads them with excessive Imposts. How can the Commerce be promoted under the favour of an unsteady Peace? A Peace that plac'd o'er their heads a terrible Enemy, threatening every moment to come pouring down upon them. The Peace which the *Hollanders* have had with *France*, did not hinder their Countrey from being ruin'd; their Inheritances and Lands from falling in their Value, and coming to nothing: For they have ever been oblig'd, notwithstanding the Peace, to keep powerful Armies on foot, that have consum'd them; and they could not dispense themselves from so doing, being Neighbours of so faithless a State as *France*, that had, during the Peace, as potent Armies, as during the War. When *France* should totally have taken away that Barrier, which they had plac'd between *France* and themselves, by the Peace of *Nimwegen*, what would become of them, and what would become of Commerce and *Repose*, which are their tutelar Gods? Wherefore they ought to secure both their Peace and their Commerce, by humbling a Power that aims to ruin them. Besides, the Commerce of the *Hollanders* will not be so much interrupted by this War, as some may imagine. They will not have that of *France*; But they will have that of the *Indies*; that of *Smyrna*; that of the *Islands*; that of the *Baltick Sea*; that of *Spain*, and that of *England*. *France* thinks there is no living without its Commerce. We shall see whether it can as easily be without the Commerce of *Holland*, as *Holland*, without that of *France*. Besides, the Sea-Forces of *England* and *Holland*, joyn'd together, would so well clear the *Ocean* and *Mediterranean* of French Pyrates, that the Commerce would be the no less well carried on. As to the Fears they would inculcate into *Holland*, as well against the Prince of *Orange*, become King of *England*, as against *England* it self, they are Prophecies grounded upon unjust Outrages. An Usurper and an Impious Man may easily become unfaithful.

The *Hollanders* have occasion to prophesie otherwise, and to say, A Wise man, an Honest man, a good *Christian*, a Son of our own Country, a *Hollander* by Inclination and Birth, will not easily

ally become our Enemy by being King of *England*: Being our Bone and our Bloud, he will love us, and by consequence he will be an eternal Band of Union between the two Nations. This way of arguing is a little more just, and a little more strong, than that which *France* grounds upon the Accusations of Impiety it charges upon the Prince of *Orange*. At least, this Peril is not so pressing as was that which hung over their heads by the Conspiracy laid by the Kings of *England* and *France*, for their Ruine. They have had reason to run to the nearest Danger, and the most apparent. Should the new King of *England* cease to be their Friend, they are well assured that *France* would not fail to reconcile it self with them, and give them Succours: for the Interest of *France* will ever be to hinder the King of *England* from fortifying himself beyond Seas.

The Author, for his last Article, proceeds to *England*: And this Article is a violent Invective against what that Nation has done, and against the Prince of *Orange*'s Enterprize; it is an extravagant Declamation to prove that the *English* by violating all Laws, Divine and Humane, in raising the Prince of *Orange* upon the Throne, have set upon their own shoulders a heavy and imperious Head, that will bow down the whole Body. Being of the Religion I am, it is not my business to undertake the Apology of the *English*, *Hollanders*, and Prince of *Orange*, that have deposed the King of *England*. They have their Writers and their Reasons; I leave to them to vindicate themselves. I shall only content my self with making some Animadversions, which seem to be within the general sphere of good sense.

The first is, that King *James* of *England* ought hence to learn what he has to expect from *France*, into whose arms he has thrown himself. *France* already knows all his faults, and publishes them. For this Composure issuing immediately from that Court, owns that *his whole Conduct was very little judicious, and that he has follow'd blind Councils, and such as are most pernicious to his own repose and security. That he has unadvisedly affected to pull down the Protestant Religion, which was that of the State. That he has us'd an imprudent rigour, as well to the Bishops, as the Universities. That he was unwise in going about to take off the Test and Penal Laws, which the English look upon as the Sanctuary of the Kingdom. That his gust and fondness for the Court of Rome and the Monks whom he meant to restore was ridiculous and whimsical. That his going about to give Employ to Catholics, by taking them away from Protestants, gave but too much reason to all the Members of the State to*

complain. This is exactly the Judgment pass'd by the Court of France upon King James of England. I leave him to think what Succours he is like to expect from a Court, that values him so little, and that without any more ado, speaks of him at this rate. Would he have more? It roundly declares to him, that the restoring of the King of England, is not an Enterprize easie to be executed by a King how great soever he may be, against whom all the Powers of Europe are preparing to make War. This is a hint broad enough o' conscience. And King James ought to be satisfied that he knows the French Courts mind. He may now think of seeking an *Axylum* beyond the Mountains, and with the common Father of Christendom.

My second Animadversion is, that methinks France should do prudently to be a little sparing of such Bug-words as *Usurper*, *Impious*, and *Execrable Crime*, with regard to the Prince of Orange, now King of England. 'Tis a great folly in a man to defame a Woman he shall be obliged to marry some months after. With in a little time France will be forc'd to come beg favour of that *Usurper*, and that *Impious Man*. Nay, and at this very instant, if this *Impious*, this *Usurper* and execrable Criminal would grant Peace to France, or so much as keep within a Neutrality, he would become a wise Prince, a lawful King of three Kingdoms. And James the Second, in the twinkling of an eye, would become an extravagant, that justly undergoes the punishment of his Imprudences; He would be sent to beg his Bread from Court to Court, as formerly his Brother was sent upon the same Errand, by the orders of Cromwel, would was a real *Usurper*. It would be found, that France would ally it self with an *Usurper*, an *Impious* and an *Execrable*, in driving away a Saint, a Martyr, a Catholic King, justly deposed; this would be a great baseness, poorness of spirit, and shameful of condescension in France: Nevertheless, all people foresee it, as not being far off: Methinks France should foresee it also, and speak more modestly.

My third and last Reflection is, that methinks we are bound to do our selves justice, by putting our selves in the room of those who blame us. I know not where that all Catholic Kingdom is, that would suffer a Lutheran King for four Years? Suppose, that the Catholic King should declare himself a *Heretic*; that he should cashier Catholic Officers, to put *Calvinists* in their room; that he should call in and settle Ministers every where; I am certain that he would be in the Inquisition within three Months, and that they would make his Brother

all the forms. Wherefore methinks that the *English* ought to be thank'd more thanks for what they have suffer'd for four Years, than be liable to blame for what they have done within these six Months.

I was, Sir, making an end in this place, when casting my eyes over the *Paper*, they casually fell upon these words of the *Letter*, relating to the *English* and *Hollanders*. They are two Nations among whom Friendship and Good Faith have been in all times unknown Vertues; that have not hitherto made any scruple of violating the most holy Rights, when it has been in their power to do it, and that the hopes of success has flatter'd them in their Infidelity and Revolts. The truth is, there is no describing what we are sensible of when we read such like things: when we shall have read it a hundred times, we are as much startled at the last as at the first. Here I leave the *English* and the *Hollander*: but to what a degree of boldness is not *France* mounted, to dare to make such a Reproach; *France*, that has trodden under foot all that is most Holy and most Sacred in the Right of Nations, and in Laws Divine. *France*, that has so publickly and so generally renounc'd all that is call'd Good Faith and Conscience. *France*, that cannot keep Faith with its own Subjects, and that has revok'd Laws and Edicts, that bear in their front the Character of Irrevocable. *France*, that to the prejudice of so many Treaties and Alliances, fell upon the *Hollanders* to abyss them in 1672. without giving any other reason, than ill satisfaction. *France*, that in the year 1667. fell upon the Dominions of a young King, still a Minor, under a vain pretext. *France*, that after the Peace of *Nimieguen*, seiz'd on a sixth part of the Provinces of the Empire, under colour of Re-unions, and under favour of Rights, ridiculous in themselves, and annihilated by time. *France*, that invaded the *Spanish* Low-Countries, in time of Peace, burnt all the Country, and bombarded the City of *Oudenard*; took, in fine, the important place of *Luxembourg*. *France*, that without Cause or Declaration of War, in the midst of Peace, went to reduce *Genova* to Ashes. *France*, that contrary to the Faith of all Treaties, has made it self Mistress of the *Rhine*, by the Townsit has fraudulently taken, and by the prodigious number of Cittadels which it has built where it was not allowable so to do. *France*, that without any other pretence, than a pretended suspicion of a future Peace with the *Turks*, and of a Rupture from the Emperour, has violated the Truce, and went to carry Fire and Sword into the Bowels of the Empire.

pire. *France*, that contrary to the Faith of *Treaties*, declares War against *Holland*, under a pretext notoriously false: which is, that it has hinder'd the Election of the Cardinal of *Furstemberg*, to which it has contributed nothing; unless possibly in some Wishes. *France*, in conclusion, that in contempt of what there are Laws Divine and Humane, and thro' an unparallel'd Infidelity and Barbarousness, and that has had no Example since there has been Christianity, against the Faith of Treaties and Capitulations, subverted Cities, Castles, Burroughs and Villages, burns them, reduces them into heaps of ashes, and makes a vast Desart of *Germany*. All this makes me conclude, that if there be a necessity, that *Europe* should have but one Master, it ought to be given to the *Turk*; with him we should find more Humanity and Good Faith.



I am, Sir,
&c.

F I N I S.

ADVERTISEMENT.

B*ritannia Languens*: or a Discourse of Trade, shewing that the present Management of Trade in *England*, is the true Reason of the Decay of our Manufactures, and the late great Fall of Land-Rents: and that the increase of Trade, in the Method it now stands in, must proportionably decay *England*. Wherein is particularly demonstrated, that the *East-India* Company as now Managed, has already near destroyed our Trade in those Parts, as well as that with *Turky*, and in short time must necessarily beggar the Nation. Humbly offered to the consideration of this present Parliament. Printed and are to be sold by *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Black Bull* in the *Old Bailey*. 1689.

